World Alliance News Letter

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SCHOOL OF RELIGION

OBSERVATIONS ON THE NEW GERMANY (1)

ALFRED J. HOTZ

THE WHIRRING propellers of the big four-engine plane informed me that we were about to take off from Templehof Airport (West Berlin) for Hamburg. But just before take-off, an additional twenty-five passengers boarded the plane and filled the remaining empty seats. A little boy of four years of age and a girl of six eased themselves into the seats beside me, with the mother and another older daughter directly behind. A paper shopping bag containing some items and the worn clothes on their backs were their sole possessions. The missing father was in a prison camp in East Germany.

This small family, one of several refugee groups, was being flown from Berlin to the comparative safety and freedom of West Germany. Thus, the human tragedy of a divided Germany raises the political problem of re-unification of East and West Germany. While re-unification has not, as yet, erupted into a violent political issue, it stands as the cancerous sore-spot that may plague the prevailing tranquility in the 1957 elections.

In West Berlin, the only "free window" behind the Iron Curtain, responsible political leaders of all parties are asking the delicate question whether Chancellor Adenauer and the United States are seriously interested in and committed to the re-unification of Germany. These valiant West Berliners, isolated by a sea of Communist power, are deeply disturbed by the thought that possibly not all avenues nor alternatives to re-unification have been explored with the Soviet Union by our State Department and Adenauer. In response to my direct question as to whether they would agree that the "price" exacted by Molotov at the Second Geneva Conference was too high, the immediate answer was "Yes, but . . ." And the "but" is the vital point of this report.

MEANWHILE the apparent political stability in West Germany may last only so long as responsible leaders of the major political parties continue to advance the requirements for re-unification on reasonable terms; but, failing this, irresponsible Germans and demagogic opportunists may pervert this delicate and difficult issue to their own unscrupulous ends, with tragic results for Germany and Western defense under NATO.

Beyond this future political upheaval is the incontrovertible fact that the mass of the German people have, as yet, little understanding of the practical workings of democracy. Post-war democracy was super-imposed by the Western Allies or tacitly accepted by the Germans in order to relieve the heavy weight of military occupation. The major political parties, while their leadership is wedded to basic principles of democratic government, have not, thus far, developed a sound popular base, the main failure also of the Weimar Republic. The strength of the Christian-Democrats is primarily the strength of a single personality, Chancellor Adenauer. The Social-Democrats are still steeped in a pre-war ideology, based on Socialist dogma, that brooks little re-examination of the post-war problems that have to be faced.

Real public interest in the crucial political, economic and social issues is found only infrequently. Older people are immersed in the materialistic urge of taking advantage of the temporary economic boom. The younger generation, with few exceptions, shies away from active participation in politics or even serious political discussions, the reaction to the Hitlerian conditioned politics.

A FEW encouraging signs can be seen, such as the establishment of discussion groups by the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Demokratischer Kreise and the Gesellschaft für Auslandskunde (Council on World Affairs) in Munich. Yet, these visible groups are too few and fragmentary to have any decided effect on this invisible problem — the inertia and apathy of the German mind.

Perhaps the real test of German politics will arise when-and-if the so-called "miracle" of German economic recovery runs into some inevitable difficulties. No one can deny the remarkable industrial recovery since 1950 that has occurred, which is due primarily to the genius of German industrial leaders and to the driving energy of the workers. No thinking German denies, however, that fortuitous circumstances aided this development, including generous American support through the Marshall Plan and the fact that there was no drain on German resources for national defense. But some of those favorable circumstances will no longer obtain.

Thus, the key external political problem, the re-unification of a truncated Germany, will be dependent on the continuing development of responsible political parties, wedded to the democratic principle, and deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of the German people. Soviet diplomacy will undoubtedly attempt to divide and rule not only Germany, but to divide those political parties in West Germany who wish to develop internal political stability and unity with Western Europe and America.

—Dr. Hotz, Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Western Reserve University, recently returned from a twelve-week lecture tour through Europe. This is the first of two articles on Germany.

ITEMS OF INTEREST

World Health Day is April 7

World Health Day affords an opportunity to arouse, throughout the world, popular interest in health needs, and to stimulate people's participation in the work of improving health.

This year's World Health Day theme, "Destroy Disease-Carrying Insects!" focuses attention on one of the most extensive tasks undertaken in the field of public health — eradication of malaria — and a relentless war against all insect-borne diseases.

The World Health Organization (WHO) has prepared a kit for discussion group leaders, teachers, speakers, editors and broadcasters, containing background material on the WHO, with particular reference to the theme of this year's observance of World Health Day. There is also a quiz, and a number of articles on such WHO programs as the anti-malaria and anti-yellow fever campaigns. The kit is available without charge from the Office of Public Information, Pan American Sanitary Bureau, Regional Office of the WHO, Washington 6, D. C.

New Pamphlet on the Bill of Rights

The most recent addition to the Freedom Agenda Committee's pamphlets on individual liberties is "Men Came to America to Be Free, But . . ." An attractive, readable booklet, it is designed for community groups discussing citizenship and democracy. Single copies, five cents. Order from Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, 164 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Summer Opportunities 1956

The Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students has just published its annual leaflet, *Summer Opportunities 1956,* in cooperation with the National Association of Foreign Student Advisors. The leaflet lists international student projects, summer service and work projects, international institutes, religious seminars and conferences, and professional conventions in the U.S. Although the list is designed for foreign students in the U.S., most of the projects are also open to American students, and some are for older groups. It may be obtained without charge from the Committee on Friendly Relations, 291 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 4 pp.

Essay Contest on the UN

United World Federalists is sponsoring a nation-wide essay contest, open to anyone except their members and staff, who submits an essay of 1,000 words or less in answer to the question, "How can the UN be strengthened to maintain a just and durable peace?" All entries must be submitted by June 22. The winner will receive two round trip air tickets to Europe. Second prize will be $400 and third prize, $200.

The purpose of the contest is to stimulate the broadest possible discussion of the United Nations and steps towards a lasting peace. Seven judges will select the wi ning essays. They are: Laird Bell, Chairman of the Boa of the National Merit Scholarship Corp.; Norma Cousins, Editor of *The Saturday Review;* John Cowl President, *Minneapolis Star and Tribune;* U.S. Supren Court Justice William O. Douglas; Judge Sarah T Hughes of Dallas; Dr. Ralph Lapp, Director, Nucle Science Service; and Philippine Ambassador to the U.S General Carlos P. Romulo.

Report on the Refugee Relief Act

By February 1, only 68,000 refugees had entered th U.S. under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, which e pires December 31, 1956. This law permits the entry 209,000 refugees above the regular immigration quota but its administration has been blocked by so many r strictions that the State Department has announced th a considerable number of the visas authorized by the la could probably not be issued before the Act expires.

Andover-Newton Offers Two Scholarships

The Andover-Newton Theological School in Boston offering two annual scholarships of $1,200 each to colleg graduates who have shown competent scholarship ar general fitness for a Christian vocation. The fund w established in memory of Edward J. Frost, churchma and trustee of the School. The scholarships may be use for studies in the parish ministry, religious education, th chaplaincy, and teaching or mission fields at Andove Newton.

Andover-Newton is an affiliation of Andover The logical Seminary (Congregational) and The Newto Theological Institute (American Baptist). Inquiri should be addressed to Dean Roy M. Pearson, 21 Herrick Road, Newton Centre 59, Mass.

At the United Nations

- Delegates to the tenth session of the UN Commissio on the Status of Women, meeting currently in Genev will discuss the political rights of women, opportuniti for girls in higher education, and progress made i obtaining equal pay for equal work.
- At a conference in Cambodia sponsored by the Worl Health Organization, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia an Vietnam agreed to merge their malaria-control pr grams to rid the Indochinese peninsula of the diseas
- Norway, Sweden and Denmark will contribute ov $9,000,000 in a five-year-period for a national medic center in Seoul, Korea, and the United Nations Korea Reconstruction Agency will provide almost $3,000,00 more. The Scandinavian countries will also provide 8 Scandinavian staff members and medical supplie Korea will give the land, supply Korean staff member and maintain the buildings.

THE GRADUATE SEMINAR ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The Church Peace Union conducted a Graduate Seminar on International Affairs from April 2-6 in New York City. The questions of foreign policy, technical assistance, foreign economic aid, the UN, disarmament, and public opinion were approached in terms of religious morality by specialists in these areas and by prominent theologians. Participating were some 60 Catholic, Protestant and Jewish clergymen and other community leaders, who had a specialized interest or background in world affairs, and who had been recommended by national leaders in their denominations or by trustees of The Church Peace Union. Roughly half of each Seminar session was devoted to a lecture, and the balance to general discussion.

The Delegates

Seminar participants came from 42 towns and cities in 19 states and Canada. The Midwest had 17 delegates; four came from the Far West, seven from the South, eight from New England, and 20 from the Middle Atlantic states. They represented the Catholic and Jewish faiths and 10 major Protestant denominations. In addition to 30 clergymen, ten men were local or state church or synagogue administrators, and eight were on college or university faculties. Five others were in the publishing field, and five were laymen and women, active in local or state world order programs.

Among the delegates were: Dr. Earl Cranston, Dean of the School of Religion at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles; Dr. Benton S. Gaskell, pastor of the Bushnell Congregational Church in Detroit; Rabbi Ely E. Pilchik of Congregational B'nai Jeshurun in Newark, N. J.; Mrs. Dudley E. Brown, State Chairman of Christian World Relations, United Church Women in Dallas, Texas; Rev. Beverly R. Cosby, pastor of the Church of the Covenant in Lynchburg, Va.; Rev. Vincent A. Brown, Chaplain of the Newman Club of Queens College in Flushing, N. Y.; Rev. Robert F. Fulton, pastor of the Middlebury Methodist Church in Middlebury, Vt.; and Dr. Leslie T. Pennington of the First Unitarian Church Society in Chicago.

The Seminar Program

The Rev. Dr. George B. Ford, Vice President of The Church Peace Union Board of Trustees, offered the opening worship and welcomed the delegates. He was followed by the Rev. Dr. A. William Loos, Executive Director of the Union, and by the Rev. Ralph L. Holland, Dean of the Seminar, who outlined the program.

"Ethics and Foreign Policy" was the subject of the first address Tuesday morning by Dr. Kenneth W. Thompson, Assistant Director of Social Sciences for the Rockefeller Foundation, and former Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago. Dr. Louis J. Halle, former member of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, and now Research Professor in Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia, gave "A Critique of Current U.S. Foreign Policy." Tuesday afternoon, delegates took the guided tour through United Nations Headquarters and heard a briefing by Gerald Carnes, UNESCO Liaison Officer to the UN. Later, two films dramatized UN activities. After dinner Tuesday evening, Nat B. King, U.S. Deputy Representative on the UN Economic and Social Council, discussed "Foreign Economic Aid and Technical Assistance through the United Nations."

Wednesday morning, former U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Ernest A. Gross, outlined some of the international problems the United Nations deals with. He is presently Chairman of the Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches. "The Control of Armaments" was then discussed by Benjamin V. Cohen, U.S. Delegate to the General Assembly in 1948 and 1952, and to the UN Disarmament Commission in 1952. Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Professor of Social Ethics at Union Theological Seminary, spoke Wednesday afternoon on "Ethics and Foreign Policy," from a theologian's point of view.

Europe, Asia and Africa

Thursday was mainly devoted to area studies. Dr. Philip Mosely, Director of Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, and Adjunct Professor of International Relations at Columbia University, outlined the present world power situation in his speech on "Soviet Russia and the West." "The Situation in Europe" was described by Dr. Saul Padover, Dean of the School of Politics at the New School for Social Research. The background of "The Situation in Asia" was given by Dr. Nathaniel Peffer, Professor of International Relations at Columbia University. Late Wednesday afternoon, Dorothy Robins, Consultant on Special Programs at the Foreign Policy Association, discussed the practical implications of "The Citizen's Role in World Affairs."

Friday morning, Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary of the Africa Committee of the National Council of Churches, outlined "The Situation in Africa." The rest of the morning was devoted to a lecture and discussion on "Foreign Policy and Public Opinion," by Dr. Gabriel A. Almond, Professor of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. Following the lecture, delegates met for luncheon in *The New York Times* dining room and toured the Times Building. At the final dinner Friday evening, delegates and staff evaluated the Seminar. The concluding address, "International Responsibility and Our Religious Heritage," was given by the Rev. Dr. William J. Gibbons, Professor at Loyola College in Baltimore, and Visiting Lecturer at Fordham University. The President of The Church Peace Union, Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, offered the closing prayers.

REPORT FROM RUSSIA

The following statement is the report of seven prominent Protestant clergymen and two laymen who visited the U.S.S.R. as guests of Alexei, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. The mission, organized under the auspices of the National Council of Churches, was to church leaders in the U.S.S.R., including Russian Orthodox, Lutherans in Latvia and Estonia, Armenian Orthodox and Evangelical Christian-Baptists.

After a day in Prague, Czechoslovakia, the group arrived in Moscow March 11, and remained in the U.S.S.R. until March 21. The visit in Moscow included a full schedule of interviews, church services, visits to schools, monasteries, museums, a department store, and a ride on the Moscow subway. The group spent one day in Leningrad as guests of Metropolitan Elevthery, visited a monastery and a theological school, and returned to the U.S. March 23, via Stockholm.

A group of Soviet religious leaders will visit the United States in June, as the second part of a two-way visit to open communication between the churches of the two countries. Such communication has virtually not existed since the establishment of the U.S.S.R.

Our mission was to church leaders in Russia. We knew in advance of our going that it would not be easy to achieve understanding, let alone agreement. But we believed that in a time of world tension, with deep cleavage between East and West, Christians of varying backgrounds and traditions should talk with one another with frankness in an endeavor to clarify differences and to seek areas of agreement. This we did.

A Profitable Experience

The experience was profitable. We understand the Russian Churchmen better as a result of our conversations. We are also confident that our clear statements face to face enabled them to understand us better.

This visit should be understood as a first step toward future correspondence and other exchanges. Thus, limited in objectives, our mission has been accomplished and we regard it a distinct success.

We were received with generous hospitality. We had formal conferences as well as countless personal conversations, since we were constantly in the presence of Russian Christians. We visited many churches and shared in the worship of the Orthodox as well as the Baptists. Lutherans from the Baltic states and Armenian Orthodox joined in the discussions. We were taken to theological seminaries and academies and to monasteries.

Government Conferences

In addition we held two conferences with the Councils of the Soviet Government which deal with religious affairs. As we went for a definite church purpose, we make no comments on economic and political conditions in the Soviet Union except as they directly apply to the situation of the churches.

It is apparent that Church and State have reached at least a temporary accommodation.

It was stated again and again that Church and State are separate. In a limited sense this is true, by our standards. There seems to be no interference with worship in the church. Congregations were large and devout in the relatively few available churches with a preponderance of older people and of women. Enrollment in the few theological seminaries that are open is at capacity. Some churches have been repaired and a few new ones are being built, though there are far from enough.

Religious Education Limited

The most severe limitation of the church is in the area of education; for there seems to be no religious education except in the home by parents and by priests or ministers on occasional visitations. Publication of literature is confined almost entirely to books used in worship. It is clear that the churches generally are confined within themselves. They regard their function as that of saving souls and preparing them for Heaven. They show little other concern for the social or intellectual life of their people. It was the prevailing assumption that science involves the reason, religion the feelings. Educational, economic, and political life is the concern of the state. Worship, from birth to death, is the task of the church.

This sharp division of function, in a population rapidly receiving scientific education biased toward atheistic assumptions, constitutes perhaps a greater danger to the church than does political control of the church itself.

Narrow Conception of Church's Mission

This generally prevailing concept of the mission of the church is in our judgment inadequate. It has not always been so narrowly conceived by the churches now in the Soviet Union. There is obviously a fundamental difference between the concept of the mission of the church as we found it in the Soviet Union today and that which we hold in our churches. We hope that further conversations will bring both to them and to us a deeper understanding of the church's mission. On our side, we are already grateful for a deepened appreciation of the elements of devotion and mystery in Christianity. We hope that further contacts will lead them to increased concern for the totality of life.

During the last several years the policy of the Soviet Government has discouraged persecution of the churches and has regarded the clergy and other believers as loyal citizens. At the same time it has increased the aggressiveness of scientific education as the means ultimately to eradicate religion. Thus the church has more freedom than in preceding decades but at the same time confronts a more subtle challenge. It is our hope that, even within the limitations imposed by the state, the church will find effective answers and effective means for teaching to the end that the Christian faith may be maintained and strengthened.

The Church and Peace Propaganda

In return for freedom of worship the leaders of the churches have apparently inclined to go along with Soviet communist leadership in important areas. Perhaps the most distressing illustration is in the area of peace propaganda.

We had frank discussions of that matter. We are convinced that the Russian churches and people ardently desire peace. However, the statements of the church leaders were almost uniformly identical in making vague

Recommended Magazine Articles

The Struggle for German Reunification by Fritz Erler. (*Foreign Affairs,* April 1956).

A thoughtful interpretation which Americans might well ponder.

American Diplomacy: The Case for "Amateurism" by Seymour J. Rubin. (*The Yale Review,* Spring 1956.)

Mr. Rubin's thesis: "Effort must continuously be made to bring the limits within which foreign policy must operate, the considerations which it must weigh, to the attention of the Congress, the press, and the people of the United States. But progress must be sought in this direction — not in the direction of guidance in foreign affairs by a group of the elite."

Communist Party Congress: The Break with Stalinism by Isaac Deutscher. (*The Reporter,* March 22, 1956.)

An excellent analysis of the trends indicated by the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. It would be of value to read in connection with this article a Canadian journalist's account of his visit to the Soviet Union as a reporter traveling with Lester B. Pearson: "The Soviets and the Asians" by J. Norman Smith (*The Reporter,* March 8, 1956).

Military Strategy Versus Common Sense by B. H. Liddell Hart. (*The Saturday Review,* March 3, 1956.)

This important article, described as "an overall critique of force in the modern world," was written by the noted British military scholar.

Is an Arab-Israel War Inevitable? by Hal Lehrman and **Britain's Traditional Hold Fails** by George Lichtheim. (*Commentary,* March 1956.)

Two helpful interpretations of the crisis in the Middle East.

The Immaturity of Our Asian Policy: Ideological Windmills by Hans Morgenthau. (*The New Republic,* March 12, 1956.)

The first of four articles on U.S. Asian policy, the other three to appear in successive issues. Dr. Morgenthau has just returned from a tour of the Far East.

For A New Foreign Aid Concept by Barbara Ward. (*The New York Times Magazine,* March 11, 1956.)

To be effective, a long-term foreign aid program, Miss Ward stresses, must be based on principle and not expediency, on goodwill and not fear.

The Uprooted: 40 Million Refugees A Staggering World Problem by James Douglas. (*UNESCO Courier,* March, 1956.)

An analysis of this massive, world-wide problem, and a brief summary of the constructive work being done to help find a permanent solution for it.

Pius XII: Pope of Peace by the Very Rev. Harry C. Koenig. (*America,* March 3, 1956.)

A tribute to Pope Pius XII on his 80th birthday, underlining his contributions to international peace.

The Anthropology of Manners by Edward T. Hall, Jr. (*Institute of International Education News Bulletin,* March, 1956.)

An article on varying customs in different countries — of special value for prospective travelers.

Catholic Temper in Poland by Graham Greene. (*The Atlantic,* March, 1956.)

Impressions of an extended visit to Poland with special attention given to Pax, the Catholic lay movement — written by the well-known English novelist.

appeals for "the defense of peace" without taking into consideration the realities of the world situation or the facts of history.

It appeared to us that their concept of peace was derived not only from the Soviet Foreign Office but also from an inadequate concept of the mission of the church.

We pointed out that the World Peace Council, in which church leaders from Russia have given conspicuous leadership, has consistently taken the same line as that of the Soviet Government and that participants from the West have not been truly representative of Western churches. We emphasized the necessity of finding some other basis than their past positions if we are to work together for peace.

The Means To Peace

We made it clear that the means to peace are as important as the end. Specifically, we set forth certain positions taken by the National Council of Churches, for example: (1) Peace cannot be achieved apart from justice, human rights, and fundamental freedoms. (2) The reduction and abolition of atomic weapons cannot be separated from effective inspection and control, nor in isolation from another armaments. (3) The goal of independence and freedom for subject and colonial peoples is best reached through processes of law and order and by free elections under international control.

The contacts we have already had with the church leaders in the Soviet Union have been worth while. Despite many and difficult differences we found important common ground as Christians. We look forward to a continuation of conversations in the United States in June. We were courteously received in Russia and we hope to reciprocate here. A beginning has been made. Under the guidance and power of God, we believe the churches of Jesus Christ may be used for the reconciling and salvation of the nations.

Members of The Delegation

—Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, President of the National Council of Churches, and Chairman of the Delegation.
—Paul B. Anderson, Associate Executive Secretary, International Committee on YMCA's.
—Rev. Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, Associate General Secretary, National Council of Churches.
—Rev. Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, President of the United Lutheran Church in America.
—Rev. Dr. Herbert Gezork, President of Andover-Newton Theological Seminary.
—Bishop D. Ward Nichols, Presiding Bishop, First (N.Y.) Episcopal District of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.
—Charles Coolidge Parlin, Methodist layman, senior member of the legal counsel firm of Shearman, Sterling and Wright.
—Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church.
—Rev. Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, Executive Director, Department of International Affairs, National Council of Churches.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

Trouble on Cyprus

Ever since the British were pushed out of the Suez, long their main base in the Middle East, Cyprus has assumed increasing importance, for it is on Cyprus that they hope to build military establishments that will guard the traditional British lifeline to Asia. It can never have the value of the vacated base on Suez. But aside from a base in Libya and on Malta, it is all the British have left in this vital area.

Britain assumed control of Cyprus in 1878 during the period of the decline of the Ottoman Empire. But although Cyprus has not belonged to Greece in modern times, the Greeks consider it an historical part of the Hellenic world. Many Greeks had expected that at the close of World War II, Cyprus would be allowed to determine her own future. A union with Greece was assumed. The hard-pressed British have other ideas. So do the Turks who form a minority group on the island.

There are some 20 thousand British troops on Cyprus. It is plain that Britain intends to use them to suppress Cypriot terrorism. As a result of this policy of the use of naked force, Cypriots are retaliating. Business is close to paralysis, shops and homes are boarded up, and windows shuttered. Daily, there are ambushes and attempts on British lives. But Britain is grimly determined to restore order and maintain her position.

The Deportation of Archbishop Makarios

Fuel was added to the fire with the deportation of Archbishop Makarios III to a little-known island in the Indian Ocean. This Boston University-educated priest has become the leader of the Greek community on Cyprus. The British claim he has encouraged terrorism and violence. Criticism of the move has been widespread both in Britain and other parts of the world. One cannot help but wonder if the British are not forgetting the lessons they learned in India, Burma, and other former colonies. As Clement Atlee pointed out, "Rebels of the past generally tend sooner or later to be Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth." With the deportation of Archbishop Makarios, the British find themselves with no one to negotiate the Cyprus issue. They seem bent on enforcing their will with arms.

The Big Powers, the UN, and the Middle East

The Mediterranean basin, from Morocco to Turkey, continues to challenge Western policy. Open warfare of a guerrilla type, ominously reminiscent of Indo-China, plagues France in Algeria and drains NATO of French troops. Unsettled issues and border violence threaten the Israeli-Arab armistice. Cyprus seethes with violence and assassination as the British attempt to hold on to one of their few remaining Mediterranean bases.

The United States, France, and the United Kingdom are bound by a declaration made in 1950 to oppose the use of force or threat of force by the states who took part in the war between Israel and the Arab nations. They are bound by the same agreement to take "action both within and outside the United Nations."

The Israeli problem has gotten increasingly dangerous for several reasons. Hundreds of thousands of refugees have not yet found a way to support themselves nor a means of resettling in permanent homes. Egypt, with her ambition to lead a Pan Arab world, and bolstered by Soviet-bloc arms and bombers, has been taking an increasingly bellicose attitude. The widespread hatred of colored peoples has infected the Arab states too, and many of them look upon Israel as a white state set up by white Western imperialists.

What Is Our U.S. Policy?

Last month the News Letter asked the question: "What is our Middle East Policy?" As this issue goes to print, there is no satisfactory answer. There has been talk of a show of force, or even joint armed intervention on the part of the U.S., France, and the United Kingdom. Neither Israel nor the Arabs want this. More important, such intervention would appear to colonial peoples as 19th Century Western imperialism. The USSR could make great propaganda capital out of such a move. If any restraint by force is used, such force should include the USSR. Preferably it should include forces from countries other than the Big Four.

The UN has been criticized for not acting. It has, as a matter of fact, a Truce Supervision Organization that has kept the UN informed of friction and truce violations. But as Ernest A. Gross, former U.S. Ambassador to the UN rightly points out in his letter to the *N. Y. Times* printed March 21: "The UN is not a super-government with self-contained authority. It is a machine without movement or direction except that given by its members." Now is the time for the U.S. to seek agreement with the USSR on methods for keeping order between Israel and the Arab states. Any such plan should work through the UN and be compatible with its Charter.

Continental Meeting

For the first time in history, a President of Mexico met a Prime Minister of Canada. President Eisenhower is to be commended for taking the initiative in bringing these two countries together. Continental and hemispheric problems are being discussed in the informal surroundings of White Sulphur Springs. The U.S. has been too preoccupied with crisis areas around the world and has paid for too little attention to its neighbors. It is hoped that this meeting is an indication that the U.S. again realizes the importance of maintaining close hemispheric ties, particularly with Latin America.

PROGRAM SUGGESTIONS

Summer Seminars and Winter Programs

During the summer, many clergymen and other community leaders attend conferences or seminars on world affairs or community problems. A world affairs conference offers a chance to hear and meet diplomats, public officials, and others with broad international experience. Other seminars draw educational leaders, community planners, and social scientists. The insight gained may fire new community programs, as well as provide material for church and synagogue world order conferences, and sermons. The following list mentions some of the best conferences, seminars and workshops. Occasionally, scholarship help is offered.

A List of Vacation Seminars

American Foreign Policy: Waging Peace for Freedom, July 2-6 at Colgate University. Write Dr. Charles R. Wilson, History Department, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y., for information about this eighth Annual Foreign Policy Conference.

Annual Institutes on World Affairs and the *United Nations Institute.* The first institute, "The U.S. and World Affairs," will be held July 2-20. From July 23 to August 10 the subject will be "Russia in the Modern World." The cost, $55 each, includes tuition, room, and two daily meals. Information from Bertrand P. Boucher, Montclair State Teachers College, Upper Montclair, N. J. The UN institute, "The U.S. and the UN," will be held July 12-14, also at Montclair State Teachers College. A $2 registration fee, plus room and board. Write Walter E. Kops, State Teachers College, Upper Montclair, N. J.

Annual Social Action Institutes. The Congregational Christian Council for Social Action is conducting an institute in Massachusetts from July 24-28 ($20), and one in Chicago from September 10-14 ($21) for church leaders. Information from Dr. Ray Gibbons, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The Annual Workshop in Public Affairs, July 2 to August 10, provides graduate credits for three weeks study in Washington, D. C., and three weeks study in New York City. The cost for all six weeks, $355, includes room, board and tuition. Write Dr. Phillips Bradley, 218 Maxwell Hall, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.

Believe the Campaign Headlines is the theme of the Summer Institute for Social Progress, June 29 to July 13 at Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y. About $130. Information from Miss Dorothy P. Hill, 14 W. Elm Street, Wollaston 70, Mass.

Better Communities: Annual Institute of Community Leadership, June 14-17 at Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. $37. The institute is planned for volunteer and professional community workers. Write Mrs. Dorothy J. Mial, New York State Citizen's Council, Inc., 613 E. Genesee Street, Syracuse, N. Y.

Institute of Race Relations, July 2-14. $80 for room, board and tuition. This institute, planned by the Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Fiske University, Nashville, Tenn., for lay and professional community leaders, will take place at Fiske.

Institute on the U.S. in World Affairs, June 14 to July 25, Washington, D. C. Four to six graduate credits. The cost for six weeks, $288, includes room, board, and tuition. Information from Dr. Samuel E. Burr, Jr., American University, Washington, D. C.

Japan and the Far East: five six-week courses at Duke University, Durham, N. C.; Syracuse University, New York; the University of Kansas, the University of California (Berkeley), and the University of Delaware. The cost of these courses, planned for non-specialists, is generally under $250. Graduate credits offered. Information from the Japan Society of America, 767 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 W. 57th Street, New York, N. Y., is sponsoring 26 workshops on human relations in U.S. colleges, varying in length from 8-40 days. Some offer credits.

Summer Schools of Catholic Action for laymen, religious, priests and seminarians in Ontario, North Dakota, Oregon, California, Texas, New York and Illinois. Fee is $12.50. Write, The Queen's Work, S.S.C.A. Department, 3115 S. Grand Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.

Conferences Especially for Youth

Annual Intercollegiate Leadership Institute on the UN, June 17-23, at Finch College, New York City. $47.50 for registration, board and room. The Collegiate Council for the UN, 345 E. 46th Street, New York, N. Y., has planned the institute for college students.

The Basis of the Free World Community, July 9 to August 27 at Twin Lakes, Salisbury, Conn. $300. For graduate students mostly. Information from The Institute of World Affairs, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The Encampment for Citizenship will be held for young men and women, 18-23, American and foreign, at the Fieldstone School, Riverdale, N. Y., from July 1 to August 11. $350. Information from the Encampment office, 2 W. 64th Street, New York, N. Y.

The International Student in a Changing World, July 2-27, offers foreign and U.S. graduate students four hours of credit. $110 for tuition, board and room. Information from Dr. William M. McKee, Merrill Palmer School, 71 E. Ferry Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

International Tensions and Peaceful Change. Four institutes for U.S. and foreign students: in Vermont from June 22 to July 7, in North Carolina, June 22 to July 21, in California, August 10 to September 8, and in Minnesota, August 24 to September 10. Four-week seminars cost $130; two-week seminars, $80. American Friends Service Committee, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

SUGGESTED READING

Woodrow Wilson and the Balance of Power by Edward H. Buehrig. Indiana University Press. 325 pp. $5.00.

A careful and illuminating examination of Wilsonian diplomacy from the beginning of World War I until the American declaration of war in 1917. Those who believe that the heritage of "Wilsonian idealism" is a factor in unfitting the American people for a realistic facing of the hard realities of world policies may discover in this book evidence that it was not so much a case of the President misreading the situation as another instance of the Executive "adapting his arguments to the requirements of public opinion."

The Secret of Democracy by Suzanne Labin. Vanguard. 258 pp. $5.00.

The famous French lucidity at its best. While the book bears many traces of having been written as a plea to contemporary Frenchmen not to be discouraged by the defects of their democracy or beguiled by the lure of totalitarianism, it is, for any believer in democracy anywhere, a rich source of fact and penetrating insight. It would be hard to find a more devastating expose of the pretensions and practices of both fascism and communism.

Communism and Christianity by Martin D'Arcy. Penguin. 190 pp. 65 cents.

An eminent British Roman Catholic analyzes the philosophic bases of Christianity and Communism. A succinct, illuminating study.

Historical Inevitability by Isaiah Berlin. Oxford. 79 pp. $2.00.

This is an important and much needed book. Dr. Berlin takes a stand against all who argue for an historical determinism which "shuffles off" personal, moral responsibility.

Psychological Warfare by Bela Szunyogh. William Frederick. 117 pp. $3.00.

This study of ideological strategy and propaganda technique stresses the need for the U.S. to improve its methods and overtake the U.S.S.R. in this field in which we lag at present.

The Conflict of Religions by Philip H. Ashby. Scribners. 225 pp. $3.50.

Dr. Ashby's valuable interpretation is based on the conviction that "the combined witness of the major religions of the world" is "a powerful and as yet relatively untried resource whereby he [man] can meet the troubles of this age with confidence."

Japan's Modern Century by Hugh Borton. Ronald Press. 524 pp. $7.00.

A readable account of the emergence of Japan from semi-feudalism into the modern world. The author deals ably with the complex cultural and political structure of the country.

You and the Atom by Gerald Wendt. William Morrow. 96 pp. $1.95.

A brief and readable, yet accurate and comprehensive explanation of atomic energy.

Spotlight on Asia by Guy Wint. Penguin. 221 pp. 65 cents.

A perceptive interpretation of the dominant trends in the rapid social change taking place in Asia, with particular emphasis on India and China.

Christian Eschatology and Social Thought by Ray C. Petry. Abingdon. 415 pp. $5.00.

Dealing with Christian thought and practice only up to the year 1500, this book is a satisfying and capable presentation, not so much of how modern Christians ought to relate social action to the ultimate victory over sin and death, but of how Christians from New Testament days to the end of the Middle Ages actually made the connection.

Leaves from the Notebook of a Tamed Cynic by Reinhold Niebuhr. Shoe String Press. 198 pp. $4.00.

A reprint of the "notes" of a young minister on his parish experiences.

Documents on American Foreign Relations 1954 ed. by Peter V. Curl. Harper. 506 pp. $5.00.

An invaluable reference work for all students of international affairs.

Immigration and the United States edited by Poyntz Tyler. H. W. Wilson Co. 201 pp. $2.00.

In light of the current discussion on revising the McCarran Walter Act, this is a valuable volume, presenting as it does historical background and both sides in the present controversy.

The Quest for Freer Trade. A UN publication. Columbia University Press. 59 pp. 40c.

An analysis of factors limiting the expansion of trade and attempts to find solutions to the problems involved.

Congressional Politics in the Second World War by Roland Young. Columbia University Press. 281 pp. $4.50.

Mr. Young, having been Secretary of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations during the early war years, has an intimate knowledge of the workings of that body. This valuable contribution shows the impact of war on Congress and its traditional methods and the problems resulting therefrom.

Nila by Willie Snow Ethridge. Simon and Schuster. 241 pp. $3.50.

An engaging, often whimsical story which gives some background on a citizen's life in Soviet Russia.

World Alliance News Letter

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